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Adjectival doublets in Polish: resultative adjectives derived from *-nq-* verbs

Introductory

The present paper investigates the present-day variability in the form of Polish resultative adjectives, i.e. deverbal adjectives which denote a state resulting from a previous event. Two types of resultative adjectives are considered:

- a/ those terminating in the sequence *-ły*, e.g. *zgniły* 'rotten', *spleśniały* 'mouldy';
- b/ those terminating in the sequence *-ny* or *-ty*, e.g. *zamarznięty* 'frozen', *zmęczony* 'tired'.

It is shown that verbs containing the suffix *-nq-* frequently derive both types of resultative adjectives, giving rise to pairs of competing *-ty* and *-ły* formations.

1. Preferable bases for resultative *-ły* adjectives

The adjectives terminating in *-ły* contain the morpheme *-ł-* which is often treated in the literature on the subject as a past tense marker (cf. Strutyński 1996). It seems more appropriate to regard it as a stem-forming morpheme (as in Laskowski 1984) since extended stems with the formative *-ł-* occur in past tense forms, conditional forms as well as in analyt-

ic future tense forms of Polish verbs. Some linguists refer to *-ły* adjectives as adjectival past participles (e.g. Tokarski 1973, Bańko 2001). Others assume that *-ły* formations have lost the status of inflectional verbal forms and should be regarded as deverbal adjectives (cf. Bajerowa 1992, Kallas 1984).

Resultative *-ły* adjectives are formed fairly regularly now from perfective verbs which denote change of state (cf. Kleszczowa 2003). There is a preference for the suffix *-ły* to attach to verbs which contain the thematic suffix *-e(j)-*, e.g. *zmatowieć* 'to become dull and opaque', *oniemieć* 'to become speechless', or the suffix *-nąć-* (e.g. *oślepnąć* 'to go blind'). In Tokarski's (1973) typology of Polish conjugational classes, verbs with the thematic suffix *-e(j)-* represent Class III, while those with the suffix *-nąć-* form Class V. Class III is a large one since it includes the majority of productively derived deadjectival verbs (e.g. *czarny* 'black' → *czernieć* 'to become black'). Relevant examples of adjectives derived from both verb classes are given below in (1–2).

- (1) a. *ośleply* 'that has gone blind (from *oślepnąć* 'to go blind')
- b. *pożółkły* 'that has become (more) yellow' (from *pożółknąć* 'to become slightly yellow')
- c. *wychudły* 'that has become thinner' (from *wychudnąć* 'to grow thin')
- (2) a. *oniemiały* 'speechless' (from *oniemieć* 'to become speechless')
- b. *spleśniały* 'mouldy' (from *spleśnieć* 'to go mouldy')
- c. *znieruchomiały* 'motionless' (from *znieruchomieć* 'to become motionless').

2. Resultative *-ty* adjectives

The resultative adjectives terminating in the sequences *-ny* or *-ty* contain the suffix *-n-*, or its allomorph *-t-*. The allomorph *-t-* is selected when the basic verb stem ends in /j/, /r/, /n/, /m/, or contains the suffix *-nąć-* (Laskowski 1984, 1998). The conflation of the suffix *-nąć-* and the suffix *-t-* results in the sequence *-nięty*, as in *kopnięty* 'kicked; mad'.

The formative *-n-/t-* can be referred to as a passive marker (cf. Strutyński 1996) or as a stem-forming morpheme. It is employed to build the extended passive verb stem, which occurs in passive participles and in verbal nouns. Some *-n-/t-* formations are derived from alternating

verbs, i.e. verbs which occur either in the transitive or reflexive usage, as in (3). Consequently, *-ny/-ty* adjectives given in (4) allow for either an object-oriented (passive) reading or a subject-oriented (non-passive resultative) interpretation:

- (3) a. *Ten kierowca złamał prawo.* 'This driver broke the law'
- b. *Gałęzie drzewa złamały się na wietrze.* 'The branches of the tree broke in the wind'
- (4) a. *złamane prawo* 'broken law' (passive reading, object-oriented)
- b. *złamane gałęzie* 'broken branches, i.e. ones that broke by themselves' (non-passive reading, subject-oriented)

The occurrence of both passive and non-passive reading of *-ny/-ty* adjectival participles derived from alternating verbs must have paved the way for the formation of such adjectives from verbs which allow only the reflexive usage (as in 5), or the intransitive one (in 6):

- (5) a. *uśmiechnięty* 'smiling' (from *uśmiechnąć się* 'to give a smile')
- b. *wyspany* 'rested after having a good sleep' (from *wyspać się* 'to have a good sleep')
- c. *zdziwiony* 'surprised' (from *zdziwić się* 'to be surprised')
- (6) a. *pęknięty* 'broken' (from *pęknąć* 'to break')
- b. *wypoczęty* 'rested; refreshed' (from *wypocząć* 'to rest')
- c. *zaspany* 'sleepy' (from *zaspać* 'to oversleep')
- d. *zamarznięty* 'frozen' (from *zamarznąć* 'to become frozen')

3. Adjectival doublets

We can notice the existence of doublets in the case of resultative adjectives derived from verbs with the suffix *-ną-*. The competing *-ły* and *-ty* resultative adjectives are usually synonyms which differ in their frequency of occurrence and/or socio-stylistic value. The adjectives in *-ły* tend to be regarded as literary. The adjectives in *-ty* are often perceived as more colloquial and more emotionally coloured.

The tendency for *-ły* adjectives related to *-ną-* verbs to become obsolete was observed already in Oesterreicher (1926:22), who provided such

examples as *ukłękły* (obs.) ‘that has knelt down’ (derived from *ukłęknąć* ‘to kneel down’).

In marking one of the adjectival forms as less common in (7–8) below, I follow the judgments based on corpora studies given in (Bańko 2000, 2001), as well as my own judgments.

- (7) a. *zwiędły* and *zwiędnięty* (rare) ‘withered’ (from *zwiędnąć* ‘to wither’)
- b. *zeschły* or *zeschnięty* (rare) ‘dried, parched’ (from *zeschnąć* ‘to dry up, to shrivel’)
- c. *wyblakły* or *wyblaknięty* (rare) ‘pale’ (*wyblaknąć* ‘to grow pale’)
- (8) a. *zmoknięty* or *zmokły* (rare) ‘soaking wet’ (from *zmoknąć* ‘to get wet’)
- b. *zamarznięty* or *zamarzły* (rare) ‘frozen’ (from *zamarznąć* ‘to freeze’)
- c. *zmarznięty* or *zmarzły* (rare) ‘feeling cold, freezing’ (from *zmarznąć* ‘to feel cold, to freeze’)
- d. *nasiąknięty* or *nasiąkły* (rare) ‘that has absorbed (water)’ (from *nasiąknąć* ‘to absorb’)
- e. *namoknięty* or *namokły* (rare) ‘saturated (with water)’ (from *namoknąć* ‘to become wet’)
- f. *spierzchnięty* or *spierzchły* (rare) ‘chapped (of skin)’ (from *spierzchnąć* ‘to become chapped’)

The adjectives terminating in *-nięty* given below in (9) are not mentioned in Bańko (2000, 2001). They appear to be fairly novel formations which strike me as being very colloquial. However, they have entries in the four-volume *Uniwersalny słownik języka polskiego* (edited by S. Dubisz) or are included in various other recent dictionaries of Polish as attested and acceptable forms, as is shown in the online dictionary *Słownik języka polskiego SJP.pl*, compiled by the Internet users¹.

¹ The anonymous reviewer warns that dictionaries compiled by the Internet users may be of dubious reliability. This certainly needs to be borne in mind while using various Internet sources. However, the creators of *Słownik języka polskiego SJP.pl* (which is available online and designed especially for word games) regard a given lexeme or its word-form as acceptable only if it can be found in some normative dictionary of Polish published after 1990 (including spelling dictionaries, dictionaries of Polish usage and dictionaries of loan-words).

- (9) a. *rozkwitły* or *rozkwitnięty* (rare) 'blooming' (cf. *rozkwitnąć* 'to start blooming, to open')
- b. *ostygły* or *ostygnięty* (rare) 'that has cooled down' (cf. *ostygnąć* 'to cool down')
- c. *urośły* or *urośnięty* (rare) 'that has grown' (from *urosnąć* 'to grow')
- d. *wklęśły* or *wklęśnięty* (rare) 'concave' (from *wklęsnąć* 'to subside')
- e. *zaległy* or *zalegnięty* (rare) '(about egg) that has been fertilized' (from *zalegnąć* 'to fertilize')

The competing adjectival forms occasionally differ in their semantic reading, as is illustrated in (10):

- (10) a. *padnięty* (colloq.) 'dead tired' (from *padać* 'to fall')
- padły* (esp. of animals) 'dead' (from *padać* 'to fall, to die')
- b. *wyrośnięty* (colloq.) 'that has grown (too quickly)' (from *wyrastać* 'to grow')
- wyrośły* 'that has grown or developed from sth'
- c. *zapadnięty* (o policzkach) 'hollow, sunken (about cheeks)' (from *zapadnąć* 'to drop, to fall')
- zapadły* (o wsi) 'out-of-the-way, in a secluded location' (about a village)'

Examples of the usage of novel *-nięty* forms (in 7 or 9), occurring at internet fora or web chats are given in (11):

- (11) a. *Makijaż albo udziwniony, przesadzony, zbyt mocny, albo wyblaknięty i nijaki. ...* (<http://uroda.onet.pl>)
- 'The makeup either made strange, exaggerated, too strong or faded and vague...'
- b. *mieć wklęśnięty brzuch i wystające kości.* (<http://perfect-weight.blog.pl>)
- 'to have a sunken stomach and protruding bones'
- c. *po upieczeniu pięknie urośnięty sernik OKLAPŁ?* (<http://f.kuchnia.o2.pl>)
- 'after baking, a well risen cheesecake collapsed'
- d. *Ale jak nie fotografować tak pięknych kwiatów. Dori!? Tak będzie wyglądał Twój rozwinięty pączek.* (<http://foto-donwinki.blog.pl>)
- 'But why shouldn't one make a photo of such beautiful flowers, Dori? This is what your well developed bud will look like.'

- e. *Następnie mieszamy mus z galaretką, wylewamy na ostygnięty sernik i wkładamy do lodówki na ok 1 godz.* (<http://kuchnia.o2.pl/przepisy>)
 ‘Then we mix the mousse with the jelly, pour over the cooled cheese-cake and put it into the fridge for about an hour.’
- f. *jaja zalegnięte ale nie wykłute.* (<http://www.forum.woliera.com>)
 ‘the eggs which were fertilized but did not hatch’

When looking at blogs, web chats or internet fora, one can also come across nonstandard adjectives terminating in *-nięty*, such as **oślepnięty* ‘that has gone blind’ or **ucieknięty* ‘that has escaped’:

- (12) a. *Ciągle się coś zmienia, więc czekając na zmiany jestem oślepnięty jakiś.* (<http://www.przebudzenie.pl>)
 ‘Something is changing all the time so when waiting for the changes I am a sort of blind.’
- b. *Jade sobie nim spokojnie, aż tu nagle widze, że mój ucieknięty autobus stoi zepsuty na przystanku (ale miałem farta nie?)* (<http://ddt.annzaan.com/tag/wwwojtus/>)
 ‘I am riding [the bus] and I can suddenly see my [other] escaped bus broken down and standing at the bus stop (wasn’t I lucky?).’

Examples in (12) attest to the expansiveness of the suffix *-n-/-t-* in forming resultative adjectives.

4. Conclusion

The suffix *-ły* specializes in deriving resultative adjectives from change-of-state verbs, in particular verbs containing the thematic suffix *-e(j)-* and *-nq-*. The morpheme *-t-* (as a variant of *-n-/-t-* suffix) can be added to verbs whose basic stems end in a sonorant or contain the suffix *-nq-*. Thus, a clash arises between the preferences of both affixes to attach to verbal bases with the suffix *-nq-*. The replacement of some *-ły* adjectival formations by *-ty* formations indicates that the suffix *-n-/-t-* (in particular its *-t-* variant) is becoming more and more productive in deriving resultative adjectives in Polish. This further contributes to the mixing of passive and non-passive (participial) adjectives (discussed in Bartnicka 1970).

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